Mapuche Women's Land Rights Activism and State-Led Gender Based Violence under Neoliberal Globalization in Chile

Undergraduate Research Thesis

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I. Introduction

The Mapuche are Chile's largest indigenous group, with 1,745,147 people identifying as Mapuche in 2017, which represents 79.8% of the country's indigenous population and almost 10% of the national population (National Institute of Statistics 16). This group has been significant in the formation of the country's history, as the Mapuche were the only Native population in Chile to successfully resist Spanish colonization, maintaining control of the territory south of Chile's centrally located Bío Bío River from the arrival of conquistadors in 1540 until well past Chilean independence in 1820 (A map of Wallmapu, the Mapuche name for their historical territory, can be found on page 4). In 1881, to expand the borders of the country and consolidate the nation-state, the national government of the Republic of Chile launched the conquest of the Mapuche, called the "Pacification of the Mapuche." During this time, the Chilean Republic violently conquered the Mapuche and seized control of the southern half of the country (Park and Richards 1321). Since this turning point, the relationship between the Mapuche and the state has been contentious, as Mapuche attempts to regain these lost ancestral lands have been denied time and time again in varying degrees by every administration, through liberal republics, socialist republics, and a dictatorship. These clashes have resulted in violence, through a pattern of Mapuche attempts to be recognized—through both peaceful and non-peaceful protest—and swift and violent retribution from the state.

From the end of the "Pacification" to 1929, the Mapuche were forcibly moved to small reservations as their land was seized by the Chilean Republic and sold to European landowners (Newbold 176), with only 6.4% of their original ancestral lands still belonging to them when the process was completed (Park and Richards 1321). In 1970, however, a

shift occurred and the national government began to concern itself with indigenous land rights, a complete break from the past—the socialist president Salvador Allende was elected, a change from the capitalists who had proceeded him. His administration, known as the Popular Unity government, passed Law 17,729 in 1972, which began the process to return ancestral lands to the Mapuche by seizing private land from large business interests in the south of Chile. It allowed for communal land ownership, and legally recognized indigenous people for the first time (Newbold 177).

Figure 1: Wallmapu, historical Mapuche territory. (Joshua Project, 2018; https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/13526/AR).

However, in 1973, the Popular Unity government was overthrown by a coup led by the Chilean military and backed by the CIA of the United States. This dictatorship would last until 1990. Authoritarian and right wing, the new president, Augusto Pinochet, quickly installed capitalist reforms to the economy. This included, yet again, the seizure of land from the Mapuche, which was divided and sold to both outsiders and the Mapuche themselves (primarily Mapuche male heads of household buying back their land)(Pinchulef Calfulcura 80). Through this period of dictatorship and loss of land and culture, the Mapuche suffered immense economic and social losses. Mapuche women were very active in the fight to restore land rights to indigenous communities, as their relationship with the land changed dramatically with the introduction of neoliberalism to

Chile under Augusto Pinochet. Part of the dictatorship's strategy to maintain power was to urbanize the country, both for the industry that it would bring as well as the assimilation achieved through the processes of urbanization, internal migration, and integration to the workforce. The hopes of the Pinochet regime were that, after being divided socially and physically, the Mapuche community would be forced to abandon their communal way of living and integrate into capitalist society (Pinchulef Calfulcura 61-62); unable to self-sustain after communal land ownership became impossible, the Mapuche would take flight to cities to find jobs. This strategy was effective, as many Mapuche began migrating to urban landscapes in the 1970s and 1980s in search of employment (Canales Tapia 143).

During this perilous time of the regime in the face of these harsh neoliberal reforms, there grew a strong Mapuche activism dedicated to ending the dictatorship and reestablishing a recognized nation whose borders were respected. Says Isolde Reuque, a Mapuche activist during this time: "the government always knew we were against them, but…after 1980 [they] realized that we had our own project, our own goals and demands. We worried a lot of people, with the huge numbers we were mobilizing. In 1980 more than a thousand communities were working with us" (116). Mapuche women were extremely active in the movement, as "Mapuche women's struggle has primarily occurred in the context of the general Mapuche movement" (Richards 2004 158), and many Mapuche women held leadership roles in NGOs performing activism under the dictatorship (Richards 2004 212-213). During the transition to democracy in 1990, therefore, there was a hope that the new government would recognize and act upon Mapuche women's demands, as the movement was strong and there were immediate promises made by

Patricio Aylwin, the new president, that the Mapuche and their rights would be constitutionally recognized (Richards 2004 129).

However, in this thesis I will demonstrate that not much has changed for Mapuche women since the transition to democracy. In fact, I will argue that the Chilean state, in the years since the dictatorship, has specifically committed ethnic- and gender-based violence against Mapuche women in the name of globalization. Its most valuable tool in its arsenal is its sovereignty, and specifically the monopoly of violence and control of legislation that come with it. These two tools are used to legally punish Mapuche women for rebelling against the neoliberal capitalist framework that drives the state's economic gain. Transnational corporations (TNCs), and the investment they bring into the Chilean economy, have had an extremely important role in this dynamic. I will demonstrate that TNCs, through neoliberal globalization, increasingly occupy a greater space within the Chilean state, exploiting the state's monopoly on violence and control of legislation in its fight for capital accumulation and against Mapuche women's activism. In the end, I will conclude that as globalization develops, private bodies such as TNCs are gradually assuming a greater space within the state and thus are granted more control within its territory (which, under neoliberal capitalism, includes indigenous women's bodies), leading to the development of a strong "Second State," a concept theorized by Dr. Rita Laura Segato. Throughout, I will show the disastrous consequences this globalization will have—and has had—on Mapuche women activists, and will demonstrate this pattern of state-led violence through the stories of four Mapuche women who have come under fire (for some, literally) for protesting the occupation and seizure of ancestral lands by transnational corporations.

Four Mapuche Activists

To give context for the arguments about state-led gender-based violence that I will make, I will now give brief summaries (that hopefully do not minimize the lived experiences) of the cases of four women, ages 13 to 74, who have experienced bodily harm, imprisonment, starvation, and death directly at the hands of the Chilean state.

Macarena Valdés

Macarena Valdés was a leader in the Mapuche protest against the construction of Tranguil, a hydroelectric plant slated for the Panguipulli sector of southern Chile. This plant was approved by Servicio de Evaluación Ambiental, a branch of Chile's national government dedicated to the preservation of nature, without any investigation done on the environmental impact it would have (Figueroa). The construction of the plant has proven destructive, diverting almost 200 meters of the river, which left parts of the Newen Tranguil community without water (Figueroa). A leader in the protest against the plant since 2014 (Montalva), Valdés was found dead by hanging in August of 2016, and her state-led autopsy confirmed it to be a suicide. However, Valdés's family, her own Mapuche community of Newen Tranguil, and the Mapuche community at large believe this to be a lie: a private autopsy commissioned by her family found that her body was hung after her death had already occurred (Bustos C.). Many believe that her death was orchestrated to ensure the plant was built by affiliates of RP Global, an Austrian company, and Saesa, a Chilean energy distributor owned by PSEG, an American corporation, the companies invested in the construction of Tranguil (Velásquez and Alarcón)(Hall 10).

Patricia Troncoso

Patricia “La Chepa” Troncoso is an activist and former professor who was arrested in 2001 after setting fire to Poluco Pidenco, a pine tree farm located on ancestral Mapuche territory in the Araucanía, in protest of the occupation of Mapuche land by destructive corporations. This farm was owned and operated by Forestal Mininco, a transnational timber company headquartered in Chile. Troncoso was charged with “terrorist arson, illicit terrorist association, and terrorist threat” (Correa and Mella 311; translation by Sippola). Sentenced in 2005 to 10 years and one day in prison and ordered to pay over $600,000 USD for the damage caused to about 100 hectares of the farm (El Mercurio), she continued to protest while incarcerated by way of hunger strikes. One strike lasted 113 days, ending with Troncoso in critical condition and the government finally accepting to consider her demands due to mounting public pressure and her worsening condition. These demands included an appeal to her case and the cases of other Mapuche political prisoners, the release of all political prisoners, and weekend visiting rights (Córdova). Of these demands, visiting rights were granted to Troncoso and two other Mapuche political prisoners, John Millalen and Jaime Marileo (Troncoso). Troncoso herself is not fully Mapuche, but mestiza, an important distinction: differences in the activism and the state’s treatment of Troncoso versus the other three activists, all of whom consider themselves completely Mapuche, will be discussed in the section “Mapuche Activists and the Capitalist Division of Labor.”

Daniela Ñancupil

Daniela Ñancupil was a 13-year-old Mapuche girl when, in 2001, she was shot by Carabineros, the Chilean national police force, in the Galvarino community of the Araucanía. Daniela’s father José Ñancupil, a *lonko* (Mapuche leader) of the community, was an activist who had been protesting the occupation of the Araucanía by police. Daniela

herself was not known as an activist, yet was used as a tool to threaten her father. While members of the Galvarino community were protesting some eight kilometers away, a bus Daniela was riding was stopped by Carabineros, who were on the way to her house. Daniela was shot seven times in the back and arm but survived; the Carabineros were relocated (MapuExpress 2016). In 2002, Daniela was also kidnapped by unidentified assailants after her lawyer, Jaime Madariaga, tried to bring charges against the police responsible. The kidnappers threatened to kill Madariaga unless Daniela dropped the charges. She was eventually released, and no case was ever brought forward against the Carabineros (Human Rights Watch 61). Since these instances of violence, she has become a symbol in the Mapuche community of the brutal repression inflicted by the state as a reaction to their land rights activism.

Nicolasa Quintreman

Nicolasa Quintreman and her activism in the early 2000s against the construction of the Ralco mine is one of the most oft-cited examples of resistance against destructive state-led economic development. In 2004, then-president Eduardo Frei and his administration approved ENDESA, Chile's largest multinational private electric company, to build a hydroelectric dam on the Bío Bío River. Located in the Araucanía, the Bío Bío's banks are largely occupied by the Pehuenche, a sub-community of the Mapuche. Of course, the flooding that would result from this dam was certain to destroy and then occupy this Pehuenche land. It was estimated in 1999 that the flooding would destroy 70 kilometers of the area surrounding the river (Altieri and Rojas 60). Soon, "it became apparent that it would entail the relocation of ninety-one Pehuenche families, the flooding of their ancestral

lands, and the destruction of sacred cemeteries and other religious sites" (Richards 2004 132).

The Pehuenche people began their fight against the state in 1997, when the plans for Ralco were first announced. Leading the fight against Ralco were Nicolasa and Berta Quintreman, two Pehuenche sisters who refused to cede their land to ENDESA, holding out until 2003 (Pinchulef Calfulcura 67). Eventually, however, pressure mounted and Nicolasa was finally forced to abandon her lands for Ralco. She took a monetary settlement, as her son was suffering from a spinal disorder and the money was helpful (Richards 2004 134). In 2013, she was found drowned in the very dam whose construction she was trying to stop (MapuExpress 2017).

II. Mapuche Women, the Chilean State, and Globalization

Through all four of these stories, we can see connections between the Chilean state and industry, and the harm that came to the women and the Mapuche communities as a whole. What is important here is to further define these connections by articulating the relationship between the Chilean nation, the transnational corporations whose profit motive leads to the colonization of Mapuche land, and in turn, violence against Mapuche women themselves. As a framework for the map I will draw to show these connections, I will apply Ankie Hoogvelt's *Globalization and the Postcolonial World* (2001) to the specific Chilean case, as I have found her work to explain well the complicated connections between globalization, capitalism, nation-states, and the people of the world. In addition, I will use Marxist thought to elaborate her framework.

<u>Clashing Political Economies</u>

To frame the relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean state, it will be helpful to define what a "political economy" is. To do this, we will take a Marxian approach. Hoogvelt states that

> "…Marx's generic concept of political economy was more general and not coincidental with the nation-state. Marx referred to the way social relations and power relations (another way of saying class relations) affect and organize the economy and, in turn, are organized by it. For Marx, in the historical evolution of human society, these social or class relations have not always been contained within the boundaries of the nation-state." (2001, 6)

Given this definition of a political economy—basically, a group of people connected through a common economy that then shapes their social relationships—we can define the Chilean state and the Mapuche community as two separate political economies, which share some territorial boundaries. I base this on Marx's idea of the "mode of production" (MOP): the actual method of producing, distributing, and exchanging goods in a society is the driving force that creates different political economies (Marx 11). The Mapuche and the Chilean state traditionally operate under two different MOPs. Since the Spanish conquest of Latin America, Chile has largely been operating under a capitalist MOP (Gunder Frank 3)—at first, as an extractive colony providing raw materials for the imperialist countries of Europe, and later, as an independent republic still providing raw materials for other actors in the global market. Capitalism, as defined by Hoogvelt, is an economy in which the defining feature is "the production of goods and services for sale in a market in which the object is to realize the maximum profit" (15). We can see this profit motive in action through the ever-increasing GDP of Chile, which demonstrates the concept of capital, a central tenet of capitalism: profit made that is reinvested to create more money. Today, the Chilean economy is dominated by the service sector (comprising 64.3% of its GDP in 2017),

but also industry—such as mining and timber—which made up 31.4% of its 2017 GDP (Central Intelligence Agency).

The Mapuche, however, followed a communal lifestyle before colonization, with communal land ownership being a defining trait of their society (Newbold 178). As we have seen, since the Pacification, the dismantling of this communal ownership has been undertaken by almost every administration, resulting in the privatization of much of Mapuche ancestral land. However, some Mapuche communities in Chile have been able to retain the traditional communal lifestyle, albeit in a slightly mutated form. The difference between a capitalist MOP and the Mapuche MOP is starkly illustrated by the definition of this altered communal land ownership provided by Gloria Gallardo Fernández: "…it can be characterized by the coexistence of communal and (semi) private land property within the limits of one bigger landed unit. In a permanent and undivided form this belongs to all the *comuneros* (commoners) registered in that community" (5). Here, we can see how the pre-colonial Mapuche MOP—completely communal—has been mixed with elements of a capitalist MOP, which ideally operates under completely privatized land, resulting in a unique political economy formed by "the specific inter-weaving into one unit two forms of properties, which together could be conceived as contradictory" (Gallardo Fernández 5). Though parts of these communities are officially privately owned, "the most basic element…is, however, the communal land" (Gallardo Fernández 5).

This, however, is incompatible with state goals. South-central and southern Chile, where most of the rural Mapuche population is located, has become very important for trade and industry. In 2005, the forestry sector made up 3.5% of Chile's GDP and 12% of its exports (OECD 25); forestry in Chile is located in the southern half of the country. In

addition, “aquaculture,” or fish farming, has become an important sector in Chile, with the industry’s production growing by 825% from 1990-2005. Aquaculture activity is also located in the southern half of the country (OECD 26). Thus, several large extractive industries with a significant stake in the economy make their home in or around Mapuche lands, and the acquisition of this land is imperative for the continuation of these channels of revenue. Accordingly, Mapuche protests against the occupation of their land are anti-globalist, as they advocate for the complete expulsion of transnational industry from their ancestral territory.

We will consider the motives and modes of production of the Chilean state and the Mapuche community to be two distinct entities, with the Mapuche directing a political economy of their own in direct conflict with that of the Chilean state. Nothing demonstrates this clash better than the Mapuche literally not fitting in the boundaries that the Chilean state draws for them: *Wallmapu*, the Mapudungun word that loosely translates to “Mapuche Nation,” defies the internationally recognized borders of Chile, with a little over 100,000 Mapuche living in Argentina (Minority Rights Group) on their ancestral land. This coincides with my previous citation of Hoogvelt, in which she states that a political economy does not always align with the nation-state (6), but that capitalists have increasingly found themselves measuring their success through “national accumulation”—the monetary worth of an officially recognized country (3).

These points coalesce to form the idea that Mapuche and the Chilean state exist in economic, political, social, and cultural conflict: two separate political economies with two different worldviews occupying one recognized nation, whose economic and social goals directly clash. The communal MOP of the Mapuche means that their land, not used to make

a profit that could be included in the Chilean GDP, is seen as a waste by the state as a whole and especially by some of the more powerful capitalist actors making up the state, such as transnational corporations and the liberal government. Thus, the relationship between the Chilean government and Chilean industry comes into play, a relationship that holds direct consequences for Mapuche activists.

Relationship between Industry and the Chilean Government

The Chilean government at this moment holds the same goals as national and transnational corporations, such as electric companies like the Spanish ENDESA, or energy companies like the Austrian RP Global, two of the companies involved in the violence against the activists. I will posit that the Chilean government acts on behalf of these corporations and corporations on behalf of the government, forming a new Chilean state that is increasingly private, not public. Though private companies are not a literal, constitutional part of Chile's governing structures, the two have become thoroughly intertwined since the dictatorship, when economic development was made the country's top priority since the first half of the 1970s. In Hoogvelt's work she writes about the theory of post-imperialism, which supports this claim, as it argues "…there is no innate antagonism between the global economic interests of the transnational corporations (TNCs) and the national economic aspirations of host or home countries" (57). We will hold this to be true, as the national accumulation/GDP of Chile would only rise with increased transnational corporate activity within its borders. Though the government itself did not build the Ralco dam or any of the other hydroelectric plants, pine farms, fisheries, etc. that have colonized Mapuche land—private corporations such as ENDESA did—its support towards these projects has been constant, whether it is through approving the land grabs,

firing Mapuche governmental leaders, forcefully pacifying Mapuche protests, or detaining, killing, or otherwise harming those who resist.

The economic incentive to support these corporations is astounding—for example, Chile's GDP has risen from $16.8 billion in 1973, the year Pinochet first took power, to a high point of $278.3 billion in 2013 (World Bank 2018); years of relaxed trade laws, low tariffs, and other neoliberal economic incentives towards corporations have had a large hand in this. These policies are extremely important to the current economy to attract investors, as "the structure of the Chilean economy is predicated in no small measure upon the constant input of foreign capital, both FDI and short-term portfolio capital" (Taylor 59). Thus, the government's close relationship with building industry in the country and increasing national net income should solidify the connection between the two entities, creating a powerful state whose effects have extreme consequences on Mapuche women activists.

Upholding Globalization through Neoliberalism

What allows these transnational corporations to extract wealth from Mapuche country is globalization, which is so inextricably linked to capitalism that Robert Gwynne refers to it as "an unquestionable empirical manifestation of contemporary capitalism" (5). Hoogvelt defines globalization as "deepening, but not widening, capitalist integration" (121). What this means is that globalization allows corporations and individuals that are already profiting through the capitalist MOP (the "core") to continue extracting more and more wealth, as their businesses expand further and deeper into countries they occupy. The entities on the other end of the spectrum, the "periphery"—exploited by the system—aren't integrated any further into the capitalist system. This definition shows how

globalization has benefitted TNCs in Chile: they can further penetrate the country, aggregating more and more land, while the groups they take advantage of to do so—i.e., the Mapuche—aren't given more opportunities to become a part of the system and benefit from it: in fact, they are only marginalized further as their land continues to be swallowed. The core shrinks in quantity as more companies are bought out or merged and wealth is concentrated in the hands of the few; the periphery grows and becomes more isolated. Globalization is merely a euphemistic way of describing this phenomenon.

Since the 1970s in Latin America, globalization has been advanced through neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is, generally, a mode of regulation of capitalism that has been described as "neoclassical," stressing the liberalization of trade, the privatization of state-run industry, loss of labor rights, stress on macroeconomic stability, and an economic-based "fix" to social reform. These policies were formally prescribed to Latin American countries in the late 1980s and early 1990s through large supranational institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and others, as a route to development (Gwynne 15); this was known as the "Washington Consensus," the results of which were ten specific economic policies intended to address the consequences of the Latin American economic crises of the 1980s. However, Chile and some other Latin American countries had begun putting these policies into place well before the Washington Consensus was formed through right-wing dictatorships, with Pinochet beginning their implementation during the beginnings of his regime (Gwynne 16). Neoliberal policies administer finance capitalism primarily through minimal late involvement and an emphasis on market forces.

Since the adoption of neoliberal policies widely throughout Latin America in the 1970s through the 1990s, globalization has intensified (Gwynne 17), as the neoliberal

framework and globalization go hand-in-hand. This makes sense when considering the tight relationship between the Chilean government and private industry. When examining the Chilean government's policies on foreign direct investment (FDI), they read like they come straight from the Washington Consensus's recommendations: "tax exemptions for overseas shareholders," tax incentives for the mining and industrial sectors, "no limits on foreign ownership or control of business entities or assets," extremely limited competition law, tax-free zones, and more (Department of State 3). Neoliberal policies allow deeper capitalist integration (keeping in mind Hoogvelt's definition of globalization) by making it easier for corporations to conduct business in foreign countries.

The importance of Chile's neoliberal policies is clear: the government has set out to attract foreign investment, and it has worked. In 2014, "over 3,000 companies from over 60 countries [had] operations in Chile" (Department of State 17). For context, ENDESA and RP Global, two of the previously mentioned companies that were involved in violence against the four Mapuche activists, are transnational. It is also important to note the nature of these TNCs: a majority are extractive, with 50.1% of Chile's FDI from 2009 to 2012 concerning mining, 10.9% involving electricity, gas, and water (think of hydroelectric dams like Ralco), and 0.5% concerning agriculture and fishing. FDI in mining alone brought Chile 3.9 billion in 2013 (Department of State 17-18). These statistics show the strong relationship between the Chilean government and foreign companies. Although FDI only accounted for a little more than an annual average of 6% of Chile's GDP in the years 2004-2014 (Department of State 17), the policies Chile maintains towards transnational corporations show the value the state places on foreign capital and investment, thus on finance capitalism as a system which extracts value (including surplus value) from where it can.

However, neoliberalism is not solely an economic entity, though economic policy is one way in which it clearly manifests. It is a phenomenon that pervades all aspects of life, as at its core, it is a method of organizing society under capitalism. Therefore, it makes sense that neoliberalism would affect social structure and the relationships between individuals and communities. Socially, "neoliberalism sees competition as the defining characteristic of human relations. It redefines citizens as consumers…it maintains that 'the market' delivers benefits that could never be achieved by planning" (Monbiot 2). In this, we can see how the Mapuche people and their distinct political economy threaten the institution of neoliberalism. The activism of Mapuche women specifically challenges this social arrangement, as it is a thoroughly community-based movement that rejects the competition and individualism that are so central to neoliberalism. We can see this demonstrated, for example, through the outpouring of support that Patricia Troncoso's hunger strike received in the Mapuche community, specifically from Mapuche women. For instance, one Mapuche women's organization, The National Association of Rural and Indigenous Women (ANAMURI), wrote an open letter to Michelle Bachelet stating their support for Patricia's hunger strike. They ended their letter by saying "Finally, we want to signal to you that the women that ANAMURI represents will continue supporting Patricia's valiant battle, which thanks to her sacrifice maintains a national and international mobilization for the respect of the rights of the Mapuche people" (ANAMURI; translation by Sippola). Here, the contrast is clearly demonstrated between neoliberal social phenomena such as competition and individualism and Mapuche activists' values of community and connection. Several communities are mentioned: the organization ANAMURI, the Mapuche community, and the national and international groups that lent their support to Patricia's

hunger strike. Joining together and consciously confronting neoliberal economic programs instead of separating and participating in said programs as individual consumers, Mapuche women activists challenge all aspects of neoliberalism and globalization in Chilean society.

Since this is a direct affront to the goals of the state, Mapuche women face retribution when participating in anti-globalist movements. This often takes the form of violence at the hands of the Chilean state.

Mapuche Women and Their Community

Before I go deeper into the violence Mapuche women have experienced through the state, I will describe what the land rights movement means to Mapuche women. I am not Mapuche nor indigenous, nor have I ever been marginalized due to my race or ethnicity, so I will not try to explain this in my own words. Instead, I will reprint the words of Mapuche women who have spoken at length about this topic.

According to Mapuche women, what's important to understand is that they are driven not by themes of Western feminism, but their identities as Mapuche. Isolde Reuque, a well-known activist during the dictatorship, asserts often that she is "Mapuche first, and Mapuche second; only third is she a Catholic, a political party activist, or a feminist" (Reuque 12). This is a very common thought among Mapuche activists, who "[assert] that their central struggle is that of the Mapuche people as a whole. Even when they make gender-based claims, they [insist], their goal is to contribute to the wider struggle" (Richards 2004 158). Another Mapuche woman, Elisa Avendaño, summarizes it this way: "'We women assert as a people that we have to be recognized, we want autonomy, and we are not going to achieve autonomy as women, we are going to achieve it as a people'" (Calfio 105; in Richards 2004 232). Among many Mapuche women and activists (though

not all), "feminism" is seen as a thoroughly Western concept, and gaining land as a statement on gender is not the objective of women activists—rather, it is the reclaiming of ancestral land for all Mapuche. With this paper, therefore, I do not attempt to portray Mapuche women's activism as a feminist pursuit, but would like to explore the dynamics between the Chilean state and Mapuche women protestors and how globalization and neoliberal capitalism can alter this relationship.

III. State-led violence against Mapuche women

All four of the Mapuche activists spoke out against the occupation of Mapuche land, and all four experienced violence at the hands of the Chilean state. Some of this violence was committed through direct government action, such as Carabinero shootings, or through neoliberal projects carried out largely through large transnational corporations. We can divide the violence that these four Mapuche and mestiza women—and of course, other Mapuche women—experienced through the hands of the state into two separate categories: personal and structural violence, based on Johan Galtung's seminal work *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,* published in 1968. Violence is defined by Galtung as "the cause of difference between the potential and the actual" (168). What is important here is the idea that violence is not merely physical violence, but any preventable condition that is harmful—whether physically, psychologically, socially, etc.—to its subject. From there, violence can be broken down further into personal violence, or violence that is caused by a clear actor, and structural violence, or "violence where there is no such actor" (Galtung 170). In the cases of Nicolasa Quintreman, Daniela Ñancupil, Patricia Troncoso, and Macarena Valdés, the four women activists introduced at the beginning, we can clearly identify examples of both in their struggles for land rights.

Now, using Galtung's work as support, I will point out the violence present in each of the cases of the four activists. With some of the activists, such as Daniela Ñancupil, who was shot by the Chilean national police force, this is somewhat obvious; for others, such as Nicolasa Quintreman, it may not be so immediately clear. I will also demonstrate that the Chilean state is capable of committing femicide—seen through the case of Patricia Troncoso—which will segue into the section "Characterizing State-Led Violence as Gender-Based Violence," which will argue that the Chilean state commits gender- and ethnicity-based violence against Mapuche women.

Nicolasa Quintreman

Nicolasa Quintreman was forced to give up her ancestral land through state pressure. Her relocation to a new region can be defined as physical violence: forced physical movement from her ideal condition—living on the land her family has occupied for centuries—to a worsened actual condition, or life on unfamiliar land and the physical and mental hardships this can cause. In this case, there are clear actors: the Chilean state and ENDESA, both of whom demanded Nicolasa's relocation. ENDESA stipulated the terms of the deal—how much money Nicolasa would receive, where her new lands would be located, and how many hectares she would receive (which ended up being 77) (Richards 2004 134); ENDESA made the exchange, which was facilitated by the Chilean government, a middleman. To ensure the removal of the Quintreman sisters, the Chilean state (and in particular, Eduardo Frei) intervened. In 2002, the Supreme Court ruled against Nicolasa and Berta Quintreman in a suit that would stop the construction of the dam; Frei fired two CONADI directors who would not approve of the land swaps—one of the state's laws in terms of occupation of indigenous land is that the CONADI board must approve of it— and

eventually hired a non-Mapuche, non-indigenous man to the position who would be sure to approve of the deal (Richards 2004 133). In these cases, there are clear actors who carried out personal violence against Nicolasa.

However, we can also see clear examples of structural violence in Nicolasa's case. The reason she accepted the 200 million-peso, 77-hectare deal with ENDESA was her son's spinal disorder. Lack of access to affordable health care led to her removal from ancestral lands; she needed the money to give to her son. There is no clear actor here who inflicted this violence on Nicolasa and her son, just deep structural problems with no personal attacks. In addition, Nicolasa's death exhibits structural violence. She drowned in the lake that was formed in the construction of the Ralco dam, a lake that would not have existed if her removal had not happened. Her death has no clear actor, but the existence of the lake—a project led and supported by the state—enabled her death, a physically violent act.

Macarena Valdés

Macarena Valdés suffered from direct physical violence by the hands of the state, as she was potentially assassinated by an affiliate of RP Global, the Austrian TNC constructing a hydroelectric plant in her community of Tranguil; the Chilean government approved this project, despite years of Mapuche protests, and actively collaborated through the autopsy they conducted which concluded she had committed suicide. Even if we believe the government's autopsy, we can still find evidence of state-led violence in her case through Galtung's concept of "latent violence" (172). This is the threat of violence or "potential" violence, as compared to manifest violence, which is when a violent act actually occurs. Though there is a possibility that RP Global may not have killed Macarena (though suicide was declared an impossibility by those who knew her), her death serves as a reminder of

the power the state wields towards its citizens and the deaths it has caused the Mapuche people in the past.

Daniela Ñancupil

It is easy to see how the Chilean state inflicted violence on Daniela Ñancupil. The violence she suffered was direct and physical: multiple Carabineros, agents of the national police force, shot her seven times. As we know, Daniela herself was not protesting the occupation of the Araucanía by Carabineros—it was her father. However, the state still decided to use extreme lethal force against her, shooting her as she got off a bus (Human Rights Watch 61). She also suffered from indirect, or latent, violence from the state just as Macarena did: Daniela was kidnapped after word spread that her family was going to pursue legal action against the state for her shooting. This functions in the same way as the potential violence Macarena faced—though it is not completely certain who actually kidnapped her, the threats they committed against her for speaking out against the Carabineros and the government's role as a whole in her attack show potential violence willing to be committed in the name of the state.

Figure 2: Street art I found while in Valparaíso, Chile. "Maca Valdés assassinated! For defending the earth."

Patricia Troncoso

The violence committed against Patricia Troncoso is similar to Nicolasa through the fact that it was state-led, though opposite in its manifestation: while Nicolasa endured forced movement, Patricia had her freedom to move taken away through detainment, one of Galtung's basic examples of personal, somatic violence (174): she was detained by actors of the state—the police who arrested her, the guards who kept her in jail, the judge who sentenced her, the national prison workers and hospital staff who authorized her force-feeding to end her hunger strike. In addition, the starvation she underwent as part of her protest is a clear example of state-led personal violence: because the state wouldn't listen to her demands, she starved herself to visibly—or somatically—show the effects of incarceration on herself and her Mapuche comrades, as well as the effects of state-led occupation of Mapuche land.

When researching Patricia, I came across a quote that struck a chord with me: in response to her hunger strike and the judicial system's refusal to read her demands, the Rural and Indigenous Women's Association wrote a letter to Chile's president, Michelle Bachelet, asking her to stop "'this major institutional femicide'" (Córdova). The word "femicide" or "feminicide" has many definitions, but two of the most relevant come from Marcela Lagarde, the chair of Mexico's Special Commission on Femicide in 2004, who states the following: "a crime of the state which tolerates the murders of women and neither vigorously investigates the crimes nor holds the killers accountable" as well as "when the state offers women no guarantees and creates no conditions of security for their lives in the community, at home, not even in work or recreational areas. Even worse, authorities do not even do their job efficiently" (Widyono 11).

In terms of Patricia Troncoso's case, "femicide" was not actually committed—Troncoso was dying of starvation, but ended up surviving her time in prison. What's important about the letter to Bachelet and the phrase "stop this institutional femicide" can be found in Lagarde's definitions: the idea that the state, or "institution," is complicit in gender-targeted violence. Lagarde's second definition of femicide harkens back to Galtung's definition of violence, which is the difference between the actual and the potential. Femicide, by this definition, is not the narrower definition of the gender-based murder of a woman, but gender-based violence as a whole. Since the capitalist system is also inherently patriarchal (Mies 2014, 53), and we have already concluded that the Chilean state is capitalist and committed to the furthering of capitalism, we are justified in constructing the oppressive relationship between the Chilean state and Mapuche women as a gender-based one: a system that functions for men setting out to inflict violence on its women citizenry is certainly gendered. I will develop this concept more in the forthcoming section.

IV. Characterizing State-Led Violence as Gender-Based Violence

The pronouncement that state-led attacks on Mapuche activists are instances of gender-based violence (GBV) may at first glance seem like a stretch. We are used to recognizing GBV on a micro-, or personal, level: men who assault their wives, for example, or violent attacks on transgender people. However, it is true that a large body such as a state *can* commit GBV on a large scale—we have seen this through the definition of femicide, which fully implicates the state in these practices. Some states have even accepted this condemning definition, as Mexico has assumed Lagarde's definitions of femicide as their own (Widyono 11), further lending credence to the fact that a state can commit gender-based violence. What is necessary here is to prove *why* we should consider

the treatment of Mapuche activists to be GBV committed by the state. To do this, we must harken back to the earlier division we drew between the state's MOP and that of the Mapuche, and determine how an indigenous woman's activism could be seen as a threat to the neoliberal, globalized MOP. We will take a look at what role Mapuche women are supposed to play under the neoliberal system, and how their activism—and specifically, the involvement of the four activists—upends this.

Mapuche Women and the Capitalist Division of Labor

Though I have already mentioned how the Mapuche struggle for land rights in general challenges neoliberal globalization and the state, women's specific participation in this struggle poses an even bigger threat. The use of violent actions by the state against Mapuche activists, such as the shooting of Daniela Ñancupil, the arrest and starvation of Patricia Troncoso, the murder of Macarena Valdés, and the forced migration of Nicolasa Quintreman, can be tied back to the prioritization of neoliberal globalization. Capitalism, and thus neoliberal, globalized capitalism, relies on the suppression of women, especially women of color, to continuously actualize: "the capitalist mode of production…[needs] different categories of colonies, particularly women, other peoples and nature, to uphold the model of ever-expanding growth" (Mies 50-51). This is so deeply rooted that capitalism "cannot function without patriarchy… the goal of the system, namely the never-ending process of capital accumulation, cannot be achieved unless patriarchal man-woman relations are maintained or newly created" (Mies 52-53). Just as the core exploits the periphery, women are exploited by men under capitalism to maximize profits.

From this assertion, we can conclude that women, and especially women of color, play a very important role in the capitalist economy. Maria Mies speaks of the "capitalist

division of labor," and how traditionally under the capitalist MOP, labor has been divided based on gender: men working wage-labor jobs and earning money, while women do "reproductive" or "private" work, raising children to eventually participate in the capitalist economy and further the accumulation of wealth, but not earning a cent for their labor (47). This, as well as the exploitation of wage labor performed by women—demonstrated through the wage gap, which in Chile affects indigenous women the most out of any group identity (Atal et al. 11, 36)—shows how corporations can earn a profit off of Mapuche women's participation in the MOP, more so than other laborers.

The place in the Chilean economy that the state has picked for Mapuche women is not hard to figure out: as domestic servants in Santiago and other urbanized areas, made clear through policies dating back to Pinochet. As has been mentioned before, the dictatorship invoked a harsh urbanization process in the late 1970s and early 1980s, seizing Mapuche land and privatizing it. The subsequent migration that occurred, however, was gendered: the 1992 Chilean national census found that the majority of Mapuche migrants moved to Santiago from rural areas, and that of these migrants, Mapuche women outnumbered Mapuche men (Castro Ramiro). The particular effects this had on Mapuche women are seen through the regime's decree law 2,568, passed in 1979, which allowed the military regime to seize Mapuche communal land, parcel it, and sell it to companies, private citizens, and back to the Mapuche themselves. Within this law was written the *ausentes* policy, which stated that on the day of parceling, any Mapuche who was not physically located on their historic land would automatically forfeit it to the government; since women were disproportionately moving to the cities to look for work, less were present in the community at the time of seizure (Pinchulef Calfulcura 97).

These women found various types of employment, but the most common job was in domestic work, with 40.6% of Mapuche women performing some type of domestic work and 34.6% of this being live-in domestic work (Castro Ramiro). This clearly harkens to the capitalist division of labor, as Mapuche domestic workers were (and are) participating in a job that is part of the private sphere, and that comes with lower wages: since the dictatorship and up until 2011, Chilean domestic workers—a disproportionate amount of whom are Mapuche—were only legally entitled to 75% of the national minimum wage (Blofield 119). Even though the Pinochet regime wanted to "modernize" the country and assimilate the Mapuche population so it would no longer resist, there was no intention of advancing equity for the indigenous population. Domestic work not only holds Mapuche women in a low-paying job, but also reinforces a traditional patriarchal and racial division of labor and keeps Mapuche women away from their ancestral land. This forced migration to urban areas has added to the continued economic development of the Chilean state through increased production, as Mapuche traditionally are almost entirely self-sufficient on their ancestral lands (Canales Tapia 133), a position that does not contribute to the growth of the nation's GDP. Mapuche women protesting against any element of the state risks the harmful relationship between oppressed groups and the state and thus the economic growth of the nation. It is a challenge to the state's largely unchecked power.

The state has used at least two tools to react to this challenge: gender-based violence and anti-terrorism laws, which will be discussed in the section "The Second Chilean State." Three of the Mapuche activists—Nicolasa, Macarena, and Patricia—were directly protesting the occupation of the Araucanía by transnational corporations; their silence would ensure the continuation of these profitable projects. Daniela was protesting

the occupation of the Araucanía not by multinational corporations per se, but by the Chilean national police. Increased surveillance of the Mapuche, justified under the aforementioned anti-terrorism laws, reinforces subordination and the continuation of development projects on Mapuche territory. By protesting this occupation, Daniela was also threatening the globalized order.

Mapuche Activists and the Capitalist Division of Labor

Specifically, we can see how the four Mapuche activists threatened the Chilean capitalist division of labor through the positions each of them held within the Mapuche community.

Macarena Valdés

Macarena Valdés and her husband, Rubén Collío, were born and raised in Santiago, but knew that their families were from the Los Ríos Region in Southern Chile. In 2014, the couple decided to give up city life and embrace their ancestry; they moved to Panguipulli in Los Ríos, taking their three children with them to live as Mapuche. Shortly thereafter, both Macarena and Rubén became leaders in the campaign against RP Global and the Tranguil hydroelectric plant (Montalva).

Here we clearly see aspects of the capitalist division of labor. Both she and her husband were from Mapuche families, but had lived in Santiago their whole lives; this is a clear example of the forced migration that Mapuche have undergone since the foundation of the Chilean republic and the splitting of their land. In Santiago, Macarena was conforming to the state's division of labor: integrated into the capitalist economy. However, she and her husband were aware of this integration, Rubén noting that "'We came escaping that excessive competition of obtaining economic resources that in the end never make you

happy…One does not live in the capital, one survives. What we wanted was to live'" (Balcázar; translation by Sippola). When they moved to Panguipulli, the two gave up their traditional jobs, Rubén becoming a *werken*—a leader of a Mapuche community—and Macarena gardened and refurbished the pastures of her community (Balcázar). The two also spent a large amount of time, of course, as activists.

In Macarena's story, we can see clear examples of how she defied the Chilean capitalist division of labor. She broke free from the state's political economy to join the Mapuche political economy, and no longer participated in the creation of capital for the state, as her gardening and farmwork would not realize any money for the state. In addition, though Macarena cared for her children in Panguipulli, probably without payment, this was not an exploitation of women's labor as it would be in the Chilean political economy. We can harken back to Mies's work on the capitalist division of labor and see that in the capitalist economy, "…the productivity of the housewife is the precondition for the productivity of the (male) wage laborer…hence, the housewife and her labor are, in other words, the basis of the process of capital accumulation" (47-48). Taking care of children, working as a "housewife" is only useful to the state if that woman is raising her children to eventually join the capitalist economy and earn a wage. Macarena, however, took her three sons with her to Panguipulli, extracting them from this cycle. She even had a fourth son while in Panguipulli, who was born sheltered from this process and will live a childhood entirely in the Mapuche political economy. This, of course, is an affront to the state, which not only lost the labor of Macarena and her husband, but their four children as well. By moving from Santiago, effectively reversing the forced migration of the Mapuche

for her family, and entering into a different political economy, Macarena threatened the reproduction of capitalism.

Nicolasa Quintreman

Nicolasa Quintreman was born and raised in Mapuche country, living on her parents' ancestral land from birth until it was appropriated by ENDESA in 2002 (Tribuna del Bío Bío). She lived separate from the urbanized, "modern" country that Pinochet built and the democratic government afterwards worked to sustain—this is seen very clearly through her own words, as in 1999 she stated this about the deals she was being offered from ENDESA: "'Money doesn't interest me, nor does a house with a kitchen. I have my place, my stove, and my land to work on. Nor do I want the light that they offer, I have the sun for that…with this, I'm good'" (Tribuna del Bío Bío). Nicolasa clearly existed well within the Mapuche political economy, not earning money through any means of employment. While this is traditionally expected of women under the capitalist division of labor, what isolates Nicolasa from this process was that she was not performing the duty expected of her by the state—completing unpaid and unrecognized housework that would support a laborer husband and future laborers (sons). Nicolasa did not have a husband—one strike against her. She did have a son, Victor, but in his regard the goal of the state remained incomplete—he has a spinal disorder, and therefore does not work (Richards 2004 134; Tribuna del Bío Bío). Not only did Nicolasa refuse to participate in the Chilean economy through pre-approved means such as domestic work, she did not live up to her most fundamental role of raising male laborers.

Mies states that "…the productivity of the housewife is the precondition for the productivity of the (male) wage laborer" (47), and in this assertion we can see that the

capitalist division of labor entirely places the responsibility on Nicolasa for her son's lack of contribution to the accumulation of the Chilean state. Her "productivity" first needs to be present to ensure that her children output as well, and her son does not. Of course, we can see that that is probably largely due to his disability; however, it is traditionally the state's perspective, under a patriarchal political economy, that the mother is to blame for any disability their children are born with, as "during childbirth, the state distrusts mothers to make appropriate decisions to protect the well-being of the fetus. And, if the child is born with a disability, the mother is blamed for causing whatever difficulties may occur" (Colker 1206). In the perspective of the Chilean state, Nicolasa has rejected not only her own placement in the capitalist division of labor, but has also fundamentally caused her son's failure to participate as well. Therefore, not only do she and her offspring not participate in the state's accumulation, she actively works against it through her activism.

Daniela Ñancupil

Daniela Ñancupil rejected the capitalist division of labor by nature of her existence. As we have seen, Mies highlights that "female productivity is the precondition of male productivity" (70) and that "the nuclear family, organized and protected by the state, is the social factory where this commodity 'labor power' is produced" by the wife through reproduction (48). Daniela, however, is not male; raising her, a Mapuche girl, does not contribute greatly to the accumulation of the Chilean state. In addition, she was 13 at the time of her shooting and kidnapping, an age at which she probably could not have a child and thus comply with the capitalist division of labor, but also could not accept the alternative and work as a domestic worker, contributing to national accumulation. Thus, in the eyes of the state, Daniela served no purpose (except for in her association with her

activist father, elaborated in the next section, "State-Led Violence: Mapuche Women vs. Mapuche Men"). In this way, she too rejected the racial and gender division of labor.

Patricia Troncoso

Patricia Troncoso was living studying theology at the Catholic University of Valparaíso and working as a preschool assistant when she decided to take up the cause of the Mapuche in 1998 and focus solely on activism (Cayuqueo). Not only did she reject the Chilean political economy and her place in it—growing national wealth through her income and also reinvesting it through her studies—she also rejected her position as a mestiza woman to live within the Mapuche political economy. Patricia is different than the other three activists in that she is not completely Mapuche, but mixed with white ancestry. Herein lies an important distinction that is not to be ignored: the effect of race and ethnicity in the gendered capitalist division of labor.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn writes that while "Marxist feminists place the gendered construction of reproductive labor at the center of women's oppression," many "theories of racial hierarchy do not include any analysis of reproductive labor" (2). However, we cannot afford to separate gender and race and think of them as "additive systems" (Glenn 3) that contribute to a Mapuche woman's status in the Chilean capitalist society; rather, race and gender are "interlocking" and create an "integrated model of race and gender" that uniquely defines their role in the capitalist division of labor (Glenn 3). This comes into play mainly through the disproportionate amount of women of color who perform domestic work in private households (clearly exemplified through the Mapuche, as seen in the previous section) (Glenn 6). Indigenous women's work is devalued and overlooked in a multitude of ways due to the interlocking factors of race and gender.

We cannot just disregard this, especially in our analysis of Patricia Troncoso. While she was certainly targeted and attacked by the state for her break with the capitalist division of labor, the consequences may have been less dire for her. According to Glenn,

> The racial division of labor also bolstered the gender division of labor by offering white women a slightly more privileged position in exchange for accepting domesticity…a dualistic conception of women as "good" and "bad," long a part of the Western cultural tradition, provided ready-made categories for casting white and racial-ethnic women as oppositional figures. (33-34)

Though in 1998 when her activism began Patricia did not accept the general domesticity that the state expects of its women subjects, she did not also have the expectation that indigenous women do that she would perform underpaid, exploitative domestic service as her job if she were to reject unpaid housework as her role. It is less radical for a white/mestiza woman to have a job outside of domestic servitude than it is for a Mapuche woman, and Patricia benefited from this system. Though I have been focusing mainly on gender throughout this paper, it is extremely important to understand that the violence Mapuche women activists face from the state and TNCs is not due just to their gender, but their race and ethnicity as well. Patricia is exempt from this. I have, however, decided to include her in this thesis because the Mapuche land rights movement has fully accepted her as an important and righteous figure in the fight against the occupation of land. The dozens of newspaper articles and essays I have read that were written by Mapuche community members have always referred to her as a Mapuche activist, and thrown full support behind her. For this reason, and because I believe her story demonstrates the GBV the state commits against its citizenry, I have included her in this thesis.

Though Patricia does not experience the same treatment that Mapuche women activists do due to their race, it is true that she rejected the gender division of labor

through giving up her job as a preschool assistant—a position that does involve the care of children—to live fully as an activist outside of the Chilean mode of production, moving from Valparaiso, an urban center, to Didaico, a Mapuche community in the Araucanía (Basadre G.). This, too, could certainly be considered as an affront to the state.

I have spent time providing evidence for these Mapuche activists defying the capitalist division of labor because it shows just how thoroughly they exist outside of the state's clear-defined boundaries for them. Not only do all of these activists challenge the state and its capitalist MOP, Macarena, Nicolasa, and Daniela especially do so due to their rejection of both the gender and racial divisions of labor.

So, how does the state react to this affront? With violence. In particular, I argue that the Chilean state uses gender-based violence against Mapuche women in order to force them back into the roles they are supposed to play under the hegemonic political economy.

V. State-led violence: Mapuche women vs. Mapuche men

What I think is important next is to examine any differences in the treatment between Mapuche men and women, if we are to consider the violence enacted against women activists as gender-based as well, and not just race- and ethnicity-based (for, of course, the violence committed against Mapuche women activists is not just solely committed based on their gender, but their race, indigenousness, existence outside the hegemonic political economy, and more). This is not meant to create a division between Mapuche men and women, nor claim that what one group experiences is worse than the other—just to show that the state treats them as separate groups according to the threat they perceive.

Mapuche activist men certainly experience violence at the hands of the state. It is not a unique experience that Mapuche women face. Mapuche men are imprisoned, shot, murdered, left in poverty, and forced to migrate, just as Mapuche women are. The violence experienced between these two specific genders, however, is undoubtedly nuanced, and women face a particular threat due to their gender. This is made especially clear in the lived experiences of Macarena, Nicolasa, Patricia, and Daniela, so I will use their stories throughout my argument as support.

Mapuche Women: Derivatives of Mapuche Men

One pattern that I have noticed is the state's use of violence against Mapuche women as tools to get to powerful or well-known Mapuche men. Rather than harm these men directly, Mapuche women's bodies are used as disposable warnings, example of what could happen to these men in the future if they persist in their activism. The death of Macarena Valdés and the shooting of Daniela Ñancupil are two instances of this. Macarena was a leader and an activist in her own right, but so was her husband, Rubén—who was also a *werken* (leader) of the community of Newen Tranguil. Mapuche news coverage of her death corroborates that her assassination was, at least in part, a way of threatening her husband. "Hitmen assassinate Macarena Valdés, wife of the werken of the Liquiñe community," one headline reads (Werken Rojo; translation by Sippola); another article states that in the days leading up to Macarena's death, Rubén had received threats from affiliates of RP Global, demanding his landlord evict the family (Sudamérica Rural). Other articles claim that these same affiliates threatened to burn his house (Werken Rojo).

The shooting and kidnapping of Daniela Ñancupil by Carabineros also demonstrates this pattern. As mentioned previously, Daniela herself was not an activist per se in the

Mapuche struggle for land rights, but her father, José Ñancupil, was. He was a *lonko* (highest leader) of the Galvarino community in the Araucanía region, protesting the occupation of his community by Carabineros when Daniela was shot. Daniela's body, just like Macarena's, was used as a message to a Mapuche male leader. Later, when Daniela was kidnapped, her abductors told her they would kill her lawyer if she did not drop the charges she had pressed on the Carabineros that had shot her: once again, using the body of a Mapuche woman to get to a threatening man.

I believe this paradigm serves several purposes. Firstly, to demean the woman (if she survives)—gender-based violence is a way to assert dominance and control over the victim (Mies 167), and if the Chilean state feels it is losing control over the women within its borders, making them succumb through physical force would serve two purposes: achieving its goal (the submission of the woman) as well as teaching the woman, and thereby other women of the same group, a humiliating lesson. Secondly, the pattern of using violence against women to warn male activists allows the Chilean state to continue actualizing the capitalist division of labor without much interruption. Clearly, when GBV is committed against Mapuche women activists but male activists are spared, a statement is being made on which citizens are worth more to the state. In these scenarios, the Mapuche woman who suffers gender-based violence "…is a means, an object, not a subject" (Mies 162). With this quote, Mies uses the word "subject" to denote autonomy, but I will take it a step further and also say it could be interpreted as a subject of the nation. As mentioned before, women are traditionally sidelined in the capitalist division of labor, their preferred use being to raise male wage laborers (Mies 47). Important here to the state are the men: they are the ones integrated into the capitalist economy. Though, of course, we can see that

women play an equally important role, their work is clearly devalued (as they are not paid). The state favors its male subjects, even going so far as to treat its women as less than citizens, seeing them instead as an "object" or a "means" to get male labor to comply with its designated role. Mapuche women activists, therefore, are treated as disposable property by the Chilean state, a tool to continue the production that provides for its national accumulation—not harming the men in these cases, as their potential still exists.

Mapuche Women and Poverty

Nicolasa Quintreman, too, faced gender-based violence at the hands of the Chilean state. When she underwent forced relocation in 2002, she received only 200,000,000 Chilean pesos in compensation—about $290,000 US dollars (Muñoz). By the time she drowned in 2013, her money was gone; the rough terrain and drought of her new location did not easily support agriculture, and she died in poverty, taking care of her ill son (Tribuna del Bío Bío)(Muñoz). Neither the national government nor ENDESA did anything to stop this: as a part of her contract with ENDESA, Nicolasa and the other relocated Mapuche families were supposed to receive 1,500 UF (a Chilean unit of account), valued at about 41,108,000 Chilean pesos, about $60,460 USD, to help develop agricultural projects in their new locations; according to Nicolasa's son, this money never came. Moreover, ENDESA agreed to build homes for the Mapuche in addition to the cash they received—this did not happen either, and Nicolasa had to build a new home on her land with part of the original $290,000 (Muñoz).

These facts are important. The "feminization of poverty" is a well-known global phenomenon—"women are more impoverished than men": as the proportion of poor people grows, the percentage of this proportion that are women also grows (Buvinić 38). Of

course, race cannot be overlooked here. Indigenous women in particular "tend to have lower educational attainment [and] live in more impoverished municipalities…" than non-indigenous women (Eversole et al. 30); we can therefore make the connection that indigenous women tend to be more impoverished than both men in general and white and mestiza women in Chile. When looking at poverty statistics, we find this to be true; according to the World Bank, in 2015, 11% of indigenous Chileans lived in poverty (making less than $5.5 USD per day), as compared to 8% of non-indigenous Chileans (World Bank 2018). In addition, in 2013, regions with very high concentrations of Mapuche—Maule, Bío Bío, Araucanía, and Los Ríos—had the four worst poverty rates in Chile, all at 20.1 to 30.0 percent of the population (Pino et al.).

It is not a secret, therefore, that the Mapuche, and Mapuche women in particular, are affected by poverty in Chile. In fact, Sebastian Piñera—the President of Chile from 2010-2014, at the time of Nicolasa's death, and 2018-2022—ran his most recent campaign in part on a promise to lift women out of poverty, mentioning in his official platform no less than16 times the promise of an increase in women's pensions, or the increase in their economic integration and opportunities (Piñera Echenique). Piñera even outright admits the disproportionate amount of women affected by poverty in Chile, stating "poverty still affects women in a greater proportion" (109; translation by Sippola), and even conceding that it affects indigenous people at a greater proportion: "there are still between two and four million citizens living beneath the poverty line, a situation that is concentrated fundamentally on children, women, indigenous groups and the rural world" (98; translation by Sippola). It is therefore accurate to assume that the Piñera administration understands the grasp that poverty holds on Mapuche women.

This is why the violent treatment of Nicolasa Quintreman is gender-based. We can see the greater affects that her poverty had on her because of her womanhood: her traditional duties as a mother—taking care of her ill son—were the reason she took the settlement from ENDESA in the first place, and most likely a reason for the exhaustion of those funds. This is the feminization of poverty in action—we have already seen how the state in a capitalist society emphasizes maternity as an essential duty of women. We can see how the Chilean state promotes the traditional assignment of child rearing to women, undervalues this labor, and then holds indigenous women in this poverty by supporting projects such as Ralco that demonstrably worsen their economic conditions. The irony of it is found in the government's acknowledgment that women and indigenous people disproportionately suffer from poverty—exemplified by Piñera's platform—yet continually make decisions that worsen this phenomenon, all in the name of neoliberal globalization. This is undoubtedly structural gender-based violence.

State Ownership of Mapuche Women's Bodies

In 2004, Patricia Troncoso was sentenced to a punishment of 10 years and 1 day for a fire she and other Mapuche activists lit in 2002 on the land occupied by Forestal Mininco, a paper company. She was charged with Terrorist Arson, Illicit Terrorist Association, and Terrorist Threats under the Antiterrorism Law (Correa and Mella 311), a policy put into place in 1984 by Augusto Pinochet. In October of 2007, three years into her sentence, she began a hunger strike to protest the use of this law against Mapuche activists (its impact will be detailed more in the section "The Antiterrorism Law"). This strike lasted 113 days. Though there were many ways the state treated Patricia violently—her arrest and detention in general, including the two years she spent in jail without charges—what I

think is especially important to focus on is the end to her hunger strike, which was not a decision Patricia herself made. After being hospitalized on the 104th day of her strike due to the extremely harsh physical toll it took on her body, the Chilean Gendarmerie (the title given to their national prison service, a division of their Ministry of Justice) and hospital staff, against the protests of Patricia, subjected her to forced feeding; to accomplish this, they restrained her to her bed (Servindi).

Interestingly, the state does not subject Mapuche male prisoners to the same treatment when they invoke the same negotiating tactics: during several high-profile hunger strikes undertaken by Mapuche men, including a hunger strike in 2010 that involved 34 Mapuche prisoners, forced feeding never occurred. In fact, in a high-profile hunger strike undertaken in 2017 by five Mapuche men, a prisoner, Benito Trangol, was hospitalized due to his worsening health; the hospital staff and Gendarmerie expressed their desire to feed him, but ultimately did not after Trangol denied them permission (Ortiz Herrera). In my research, I have not found one case of forced feeding of a Mapuche man.

The point of this comparison, again, is not to pit Mapuche women and men against one another, but rather to call attention to the differences in their treatment by the state when under the exact same conditions: starving, incarcerated, and in protest. To develop why this might be, I will use Lesley A. Sharp's Marxian analysis of the objectification and commodification of the body (2000). In her work, Sharp writes that "…historically, the body frequently emerges as a site of production, where living persons may be valued solely for their labor power" (292). Looking back to Patricia's subheading in the section "Mapuche Activists and the Capitalist Division of Labor," we can see how she has defied the state's embrace of neoliberal capitalism with her rejection of participation in the formal

workforce. The "labor power" that Patricia contains is not being put towards furthering the accumulation of wealth, but rather into disassembling this very process. Therefore, when looking back to what Sharp tells us, Patricia certainly has low value in the eyes of the state—her potential power is being put to no use; when objectified, the commodity she becomes to the state is of low worth.

Besides labor power, under capitalism Patricia also holds "reproductive power." According to Sharp, "…women consistently emerge as specialized targets of commodification, where the female body is often valued for its reproductive potential" (293). Again, calling back to the idea of the capitalist division of labor, we see how the state valorizes women for the ability to create and condition male laborers to further capital accumulation (Patricia did not have children). This pattern further objectifies Patricia, as she as reduced to the labor power she possesses—and rejects—and her reproductive organs (Sharp 294), whose state-dictated use she also rejects. Therefore, it is no surprise that the state, acting through the Gendarmerie, chose to defy Patricia's orders for her own body—no nutrition, even if she were to die (Servindi), unless her demands were met—and act upon it as if it were an object. "Colonial power, labor policies, and medical practices have frequently worked together to discipline colonized bodies," Sharp writes (293), and there is no clearer example of this than the state physically restraining a Mapuche woman, penetrating her body with an IV, and deciding her own fate for her, all against her will.

Thus, we can conclude that Patricia Troncoso's treatment is a clear-cut example of gender-based violence. The anger of the state at this activist for calling attention to the unjust appropriation of Mapuche lands, as well as the jailing of Mapuche protestors under a racist and authoritarian Antiterrorism Law, is obvious. Acting as representatives of a

neoliberal body, the Gendarmerie and hospital staff reduced Patricia to her two characteristics that create her value in the capitalist MOP—her labor potential and reproductive potential—and found neither satisfactory. Of course, they objectified her in the process, a phenomenon that occurs constantly in a society built around production, distribution, and consumption. Objectification, of course, raises questions of ownership (Sharp 298), an important component of capitalism—to whom does Patricia belong? In raising this question, I would like to harken back to the assertion by Mapuche protestors that Patricia Troncoso's treatment by the Chilean state was femicide (they called on then-president Michelle Bachelet to "stop this major institutional femicide" (Córdova)). In her book *La Guerra Contra Las Mujeres* (2016), Rita Laura Segato writes extensively on femicide in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and the role of her concept of the "Second State" in this phenomenon, a concept that I will delve into in the next section of this thesis. She asserts that under this Second State, "in the language of femicide, "feminine body" also means "territory"" (Segato 47; translation by Sippola). We clearly see this idea at play in the case of Patricia Troncoso—her rape-like treatment of is not hard to miss, as the state exercises its classical role of sovereignty over her body, its territory. As we know, sexual violence is a question of power, control, and dominance, and by physically restraining Patricia and penetrating her with an IV, asserting dominance, the state's opinion over her ownership is evident.

Throughout this section, my goal has been to demonstrate that the violence against Mapuche activists that I detailed in "State-Led Violence against Mapuche Women" has been shaped by their gender. Though it is easy to see why this is incredibly important to understand in real life—a state acting violently towards its citizens and perpetrating that

violence differently due to perceived gender is a huge cause for alarm—why does this matter specifically to this research? To show that the current MOP, capitalism—specifically neoliberal finance capitalism—punishes Mapuche women for existing outside of this political economy and actively trying to dismantle it. As we've seen through Patricia Troncoso, the state summons its sovereignty over its subjects, which manifests through violence, to make them re-enter this political economy. What becomes important, then, is the inseparability that defines the relationship between the Chilean state and transnational corporations, and how, thus, these corporations are necessarily and voluntarily involved in the violence and what the future holds for this dynamic. I believe the next section will demonstrate this.

VI. The Chilean Second State

Throughout this thesis, I have called attention to the growing integration of transnational corporations into the Chilean state, as well as the state's violent reaction towards Mapuche women's land rights activists. I believe we can connect these two phenomena through Segato's concept of the "Segundo Estado" (Second State) (2006), or the "Second Realidad" (Second Reality), as she rephrased it in 2016. Segato writes that in Mexico, specifically in Northern Mexico where border towns have been plagued by instances of femicide, the state has a dual nature; the "Primera Realidad" (First Reality/First State), which is

> "constituted by all that governed by the sphere of the State, all that declared to be the State, visible in the stories of the nation and the 'Transparency in public governance' internet pages, residential real estate…all that is produced and commercialized; for-profit companies and non-profits, etc. For its protection, this universe counts on police and military forces, institutions and policies on public security, the judicial system and prison that protect this legitimate, legal wealth" (75; translation by Sippola).

The Second State, however, exists

> "in the underground of this world of supposed transparencies…it is a mirrored reality in relation to the first one: with the amount of capital and circulating flow probably identical, and with its own forces of security, which is to say, armed corporations occupied with protecting their "owners'" property, on top of their incalculable riches that in this universe are produced and administered." (75; translation by Sippola).

Two states exist: that of the state that the public consciously recognizes, that which we typically think of when it comes to the state, and the Second State, or First State's darker underbelly. This state is ruled by late capitalism, and corporations and the capitalists that lead it largely take control of many of the state's primary functions—for example, sovereignty (including the formation and application of legislation) and the monopoly on violence (both explored in the next section). Segato argues that under the Second State, impoverished Mexican factory workers are often subject to femicide, not due to individual man/woman relationships, but because of the nature of the Second State itself. I quoted Segato on page 43, stating that under this Second State, women's bodies are viewed as territory (47). This owner/property relationship is so entrenched in the Second State because under it, the capitalist—primarily a white man—"became capable of controlling his territory in an almost unrestricted manner, as a consequence of the uncontrolled accumulation…exacerbated by the globalization of the economy and the vigorous deregulation of the neoliberal economy" (Segato 48; translation by Sippola). Harkening back to Ankie Hoogvelt's assertion that globalization is essentially "deepening, but not widening, capitalist integration" (121), we can see that as capitalism advances and globalization develops, capitalists continue their accumulation, whether in the form of land, labor, or capital—his territory—and the pool of these capitalists (the "core") necessarily

dwindles. Women, I assert, are part of the "periphery," as they are viewed as territory by the core.

Segato's work on Mexico has been incorporated here to introduce the argument that the concept of the Second State can be applied to Chile and the gender-and-ethnicity-based violence that Mapuche women face under deepening globalization. We have already seen how the Chilean state has committed GBV against Mapuche women activists, but have also seen how it does not acknowledge these wrongs (think back to Sebastian Piñera's seemingly oblivious acknowledgement of the suffering of the indigenous people of Chile and women of Chile, coming just a few months before his strengthening of the Antiterrorism Law that is used to hold Mapuche protesters without trial). It is apparent that there is a clear duality within the Chilean state, just as there is in the Mexican state.

Segato mentions sovereignty and the ownership of protective/security forces (the monopoly on violence) as two defining characteristics of the state (38, 48). To provide evidence for the existence of the Chilean Second State, I will now demonstrate how transnational corporations have, in increasing degrees, become involved in these primary functions; I argue that the infiltration of transnational corporations into these processes is a sign of the Second State and deepening globalization.

The Antiterrorism Law

Segato defines sovereignty as "legislative control over a territory and over the body of the other as an annex of that territory" (38). This thesis has already covered how the state has exercised control over the body of "the other," in this case, Mapuche women activists; now, a discussion on legislative control will begin, which is best demonstrated through the Antiterrorism Law.

The most influential anti-terrorism law, Law 18,314 (or "La Ley Antiterrorista"/the Antiterrorism Law), was passed in Chile in 1984, in the middle of Augusto Pinochet's fascist dictatorship. This legislation broadly defines the actions that constitute terrorism, including but not limited to "homicides," "injuries," "kidnapping," "robbery," "fires," and "infractions against public health"(Law 18.314 Article 2.1); the law also allows the state to hold suspected terrorists without charges for an indefinite amount of time, called "preventative prison" (Richards 2010 74)(Law 18,314 Article 14), allows wiretapping and house arrests (Law 18,314 Articles 14.2 & 14.3) and has been used by the democratic government—not just the dictatorship—for years to detain Mapuche activists. From January 2000 to May of 2009 alone, well past the years of the military regime, there were forty Mapuche activists held prisoner under the Antiterrorism Law (Correa and Mella 311). Originally, the law was implemented in 1984 along with a string of other related laws—specifically, the Arms Control Law and International Security Law—to strengthen the control of the military over the Chilean population (Loveman 37); specific targeting of the Mapuche was not its focused intent, but rather the suppression of any individuals or groups opposed to the dictatorship. In fact, the law was not explicitly used against the Mapuche until after the military regime had been phased out. The first case to charge Mapuche under the Antiterrorism Law occurred in 2001 after several Mapuche leaders—including Patricia Troncoso—were accused of setting fire to the property of Agustín Figueroa, a Chilean politician and former minister of agriculture (Richards 2010 80). Although eventually acquitted, they were held in preventative prison for 18 months (González).

This application of the Antiterrorism Law amplified after September 11th, 2001, when the War on Terror began, as it was believed that a newfound public fear towards

terrorism would allow heavy use of the law without much questioning from the public (Richards 2010 77). This demonstrates a different effect that globalization has had on the Mapuche: instead of manifesting itself as land-grabs by transnational corporations, physical representations of the deepening of globalization, an international fear was brought to Chile and used to affect the application of legislation, an entirely intangible action. The two, of course, constantly interact with each other: legislation is used as a legitimizing force to support the deepening presence of TNCs.

However, the state shows no signs of stopping its use of the law: Michelle Bachelet, the president of Chile from 2006-2010 and 2014-February 2018, ran and won her first term claiming that she would not use this law against Mapuche protestors. However, by the end of her first term, Bachelet had used the law to imprison at least four Mapuche (Richards 2010 74). In addition, Sebastian Piñera, the current president of Chile, passed a reform of the Antiterrorism Law in early 2018 that allows the use of "drones, undercover agents, [and] GPS tracking" against suspected terrorists (Telesur). He has already used the law to detain Mapuche activists.

Clearly, the Chilean state exercises sovereignty over the Mapuche, evidenced here by legislative control. I argue that transnational corporations have a hand in the application of this legislation. The arrest of Patricia Troncoso under the Antiterrorism Law for setting fire to a pine tree farm, Poluco Pidenco, owned by a Chilean TNC, demonstrates this; as mentioned before, she was charged with "terrorist arson, illicit terrorist association, and terrorist threat" for this fire (Correa and Mella 311; translation by Sippola). Of those activists who have been charged under the Antiterrorism Law, "most of the crimes committed have been against property (especially arson)…" (Richards 2010 74). In 2010, of

the forty Mapuche that had ever been detained under the law, twenty had been charged with terrorist arson or arson, crimes against property, not humans (Correa and Mella 311-314). What is interesting is that "in international treaties," arson and other crimes against property "do not qualify as terrorism" (Richards 2010 74). This signifies that there is international recognition that crimes against property are treated more drastically by the Chilean state than the norm. In fact, in 2014 the Inter-American Court of Human Rights saw a case between the State of Chile and eight Mapuche men, who accused the state of violating Mapuche human rights by using the Antiterrorism Law unjustly against them, as they had been charged with "terrorist arson"; the court found the state guilty (International Federation for Human Rights). However, the state has not stopped detaining Mapuche under this law.

I argue that this demonstrates at least partial control of legislation by corporations. The consideration of crimes against large property to be "terrorism," and worthy of long prison sentences, is abnormal. This provides evidence for the existence of a Second State in Chile, under which neoliberal capitalism and its beneficiaries regulate lawmaking and exercise sovereignty over the population within their territory, especially peripheral populations. Another component of sovereignty, the monopoly on violence, is also regulated by the Chilean Second State.

The Monopoly on Violence

At several points in this thesis, I have referred to the state's unique ability to publically and legitimately perform violence towards its citizens, and how this directly benefits TNCs, especially when the victims are Mapuche women activists. The idea that legitimate violence is a property that defines a state comes from Max Weber, who called

this phenomenon the "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force" or the "monopoly on violence." Specifically, in his essay *Politics as a Vocation*[1], Weber says that "ultimately, one can define the modern state sociologically only in terms of the specific means peculiar to it, as to every political association, namely, the use of physical force" (1). What Weber claims is that "a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (1). We can see examples of this in Chile: the Carabineros who shot Daniela Ñancupil, the Carabineros who arrested Patricia Troncoso and the Gendarmerie and hospital staff who force fed her, and all other examples of actors of the Chilean state carrying out physical violence against Mapuche activists. Nicolasa Quintreman I am purposefully excluding from this discussion, as the violence she suffered directly from the state—forced relocation—was more structural than physical (though it certainly led to serious physical effects). In the cases of Daniela and Patricia, however, the body carrying out the direct violence in these two cases was, arguably, the First State—the Gendarmerie, Carabineros, and hospital workers are all examples of instruments of the state that are "visible in the stories of the nation," as Segato put it (75).

But what of Macarena Valdés? From her story, we know that it is widely believed by her family, the Mapuche community, and many other Chileans that actors of the transnational company RP Global assassinated her. This conclusion is corroborated by witnesses of threats that her husband received in the days leading up to her death, as well as a private autopsy that refuted the state autopsy, which had concluded it was a suicide. From this story, we can assume that RP Global did not like that she and her husband were actively campaigning against the Tranguil hydroelectric plant, and threatened them to stop;

[1] This essay was originally a lecture given by Weber in 1918, later published in text.

when they did not, they sent private, not traditionally public, associates to murder her. When we look to Segato's definition of the Second State—a "mirrored reality…with its own forces of security" that protect "their owners' property," (75), we clearly see evidence of a Chilean Second State within Macarena's story. What does this say about the monopoly on violence?

Macarena was killed in 2016, as the effects of globalization have penetrated even deeper into the country. Through her story, we can see that global capital has taken a more active role in the perpetuation of violence against Mapuche women activists. Weber writes that "specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it" (1). I believe that a loosening of control by the First State can be observed in Macarena's assassination. TNCs are certainly becoming more involved in reaction against Mapuche activists, not only perpetuating extreme physical (and gender- and ethnic-based) violence such as murder, but threats and harassment as well. As global wealth increasingly becomes a primary source of income for Chile, governmental regulation of business has greatly reduced, as I demonstrated in the sections "Relationship Between Industry and the Chilean State" and "Upholding Globalization through Neoliberalism." It makes sense that, under a neoliberal-prescribed lack of government regulation, TNCs would fill in the gaps left by the shrinking of the Chilean government, creating a state dominated by business—a deepening influence of the Second State.

As neoliberalism advocates for the deepening of capitalism throughout Chile, I also argue that it advocates for greater power of TNCs and the deepening of these corporations within the state, creating a more powerful Second State, and the gradual withdrawal of the

First State's control on sovereignty. The effects this has on the rights of the Mapuche, and especially the rights of Mapuche women activists, are dire.

VII. Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have tried to demonstrate that the Chilean state and Mapuche Nation operate under two separate political economies, the one of the Mapuche actively undermining the goals of the Chilean political economy and its MOP, neoliberal capitalism. Due to this capitalist MOP, and the globalization that develops as it advances, the Chilean state continues to promote the occupation of Mapuche land by transnational corporations, who set up extractive industries such as paper mills and hydroelectric plants. The Mapuche have very vocally protested this colonization, which has led to violence against activists perpetuated by the state and TNCs. I have argued that Mapuche women activists have been met with gender- and ethnic-based violence, as under neoliberal capitalism, their bodies are viewed as "territory." As globalization deepens and TNCs further penetrate the Chilean economy—seen physically through their increased occupation of Mapuche land—this phenomenon is mirrored through increased and deepening violence against Mapuche women activists. The traditional state function of sovereignty, made up in part by the monopoly on violence and control of legislation, has fallen further and further into the hands of the TNCs and the capitalists who lead them as their space within the Chilean state grows; they then express this sovereignty through the enactment of violence on indigenous women's bodies. This, I argue, is evidence of the existence and expansion of the adverse Chilean Second State, a concept first theorized by Rita Laura Segato.

The consequences these processes will have for Mapuche women activists as they continue are not hard to figure out. The experiences of Daniela Ñancupil, Patricia Troncoso, Nicolasa Quintreman, and Macarena Valdés are testimonies to the drastic effects of neoliberal capitalism and globalization on indigenous women. Not only will all Mapuche who stand up to this process be violently repressed—as they have been for years—but women especially will be targeted, as their lesser value under patriarchal capitalism renders them inconsequential to the increasingly privatized state. I predict the growth of the Second State will create more frequent and drastic instances of violence against Mapuche women. Macarena is a testament to this fact, as she was killed only in 2016, with no consequences for her murderers—only complicity from the Chilean government and state as a whole.

However, there are signs that maybe this cynical outlook will not come to pass. The Mapuche movement has been gaining traction, as shown by the increasing international opinion that the Chilean state has been undoubtedly cruel in its application of the Antiterrorism Law. This is an interesting contradictory effect of globalization: that although it fundamentally causes the disenfranchisement of the Mapuche, it also allows for them to protest this marginalization and spread the news to a global audience, who then can take steps to try to stop it from happening. Whether or not their goal will be accomplished is a different story—for example, the prosecution and conviction of Chile in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights did not stop the state from applying the Antiterrorism Law to protestors. It is also important to remember that this international recognition and support would not be possible without the activism of Mapuche women, who bear dreadful consequences for bringing attention to their movement.

So, though it may seem overly cynical, my outlook on the future of the Mapuche land rights movement is negative. The Chilean populace recently reelected Sebastian Piñera to the presidency, a staunch conservative and billionaire businessman who reformed the Antiterrorism Law to approve even more violent and harsh measures against the Mapuche. Although the future is unclear, I think it is extremely evident that Mapuche women are not going to give up their activism no matter how bad their state-and-TNC-led repression becomes. Instead of being silent after Macarena's death—the intended consequence—the Mapuche have become even louder than before.

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